

DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 177 844

FL 007 612

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TITLE Three Generations of Olivo Atilano.
PUB DATE May 75
NOTE 13p.

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC01 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Acculturation; Code Switching (Language); English
(Second Language); Grammar; Immigrants; Language
Dominance; Language Maintenance; Language Patterns;
Language Research; *Language Usage; *Language
Variation; *Linguistic Borrowing; *Mexican Americans;
Morphology (Languages); Phonology; Pronunciation;
*Spanish Speaking
IDENTIFIERS *Chicano Spanish; *Generational Differences

ABSTRACT

This is a study of three contiguous generations of the extended families of Olivo and Atilano that emigrated from Central Mexico to Illinois. The general purpose of the investigation is to describe the development of the home language (Spanish) in an emigrant environment by concentrating on the generation as a transitional stage. In particular, the aim is to determine: (1) some of the salient generational differences and similarities in terms of the grammar that characterizes their language, and (2) whether the types of linguistic changes that are observed from one generation to the other might be considered typical of languages learned in an emigrant environment. The results of the study show linguistic changes that can be interpreted as part of a general tendency toward regularization of the system and code reduction, both characteristic of weakly monitored sociolinguistic situations. The transition between the first and second generation identifies this internal development, whereas the differences between the second and third generation show that Spanish is giving way to English. (Author)

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ED177844

THREE GENERATIONS OF OLIVO ATILANO

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EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF
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Introduction

Studies of contiguous generations for the purpose of investigating language change, especially the rate and types of change, are conspicuously rare in the literature. The study of contiguous generations of emigrants covering the resettlement period from the country of origin to a linguistically alien environment offers the unique opportunity to observe the development of the language under conditions unfavorable to the maintenance of the language: weak socio-linguistic monitoring and the interference pressures of a competing language. Under these conditions one would expect a more rapid rate of change and types of changes unlike those which may occur in a non-emigrant community (cf. Bloomfield 1933, on intimate borrowing and W. Dressler, "The Phonology of Language Death" CLS 1972).

Purpose of the Paper

The purpose of this paper is to study one such case: the three contiguous generations of the Olivo and Atilano extended families which emigrated from Central Mexico (the states of Guanajuato and Jalisco, about 200 miles north of Mexico City) after the revolution and settled in the LaSalle-Peru-Ottawa area of Illinois after a period of residence in Texas.

The primary interest of this paper is to determine (a) some of the salient generational differences and similarities in terms of the grammar which characterizes their language and (b) whether the types of linguistic changes which are observed from one generation to the other follow from a unified, overriding set of principles which might be considered typical of emigrant languages.

Data

The data consists of a transcribed text of 11 hours of taped conversation among members of the families of Olivo and Atilano. The data was collected by

Lorraine Olivo (third generation, Illinois born) with the help of her husband Raymundo Olivo (born and raised in Mexico). Generation-1 consists of people born in Mexico (the original emigrants), aged 60 to 74, with one 19 year old. The second generation consists of people raised in Illinois or Texas (children of the original emigrants), aged 44 to 49. The third generation, the least linguistically homogeneous of the three (grandchildren of the original emigrants), ranges in age from 19 to 24, with one individual of 49. The analysis consists of the identification of salient linguistic features in the text, their approximate formulation within the framework of general Spanish, and a discussion of the possible implications which might follow with respect to their acquisition and development.

(1) Demographic Distribution

Generation 1 (G-1): Lupe A., 74, Prospero R., 70, Maria Z., 68, .
Rosita A., 65, Francisca R., 60, Raymundo O., 19

Generation 2 (G-2): Jessie A., 49, Braulio A., 49, Lucio V., 49,
Flora A., 47, Vicky M., 45, Manuel M., 45, Ray A., 44,
Fran A., 44

Generation 3 (G-3): James A., 24, Lorrie O., 21, Carlos L., 19,
Dolores V., 49

Salient Characteristics Found in the Corpus

RAISING of midvowels in pretonic position. The unstressed vowel [e] of general Spanish is found raised to [i] when it precedes the syllable which bears the main stress. This phenomenon is normal in general Spanish under strict morphological conditions in the case of verbs like sentir (infinitive)/ sintió (preterite) or pedir/pidió (cf. Glossary).

Examples: intonces (entonces)
 dicía (decía)
 criaban (creaban)
 pigarlas (pegarlas)
 dicir(decir)

Our data show that this process is generalized by diffusion through the verb paradigm -- sintir (sentir), pidir (pedir) -- and beyond in the vernacular of Guanaajuato (Boyd-Bowman 1960, p. 48) and New Mexico (Espinosa 1930, p. 92). Note that this process also raises what in general Spanish appear as quasi-glides campi^{ón} (campe^{ón}), li^{ón} (le^{ón}) which appear as non-syllabic as a result.

ASPIRATION-s. What we find as voiceless[s] before consonants and in word final position in general Spanish is aspirated as [h] (or dropped) with the consequent shortening of the preceding vowel and lengthening of the following consonant.

Examples: e[h]ta[́] (esta[́])
e[h]ta (esta)

This phenomenon, widespread in the Caribbean and to a certain extent common in New Mexico, Bogota, Chile, Andalusia, Extremadura, and Castile (Boyd-Bowman 1960, p. 189), is not heavily exemplified in our corpus.

ASPIRATION-f,h. Our corpus gives us abundant examples of an aspirated fricative which in conventional spelling of general Spanish corresponds to a labiodental f or a mute h.

Examples: [h]uimos (fuimos)
[h]uir (huir)
a[h]uera (afuera)
[h]aliar (halear)
[h]acienda (hacienda)
[h]ayar (hallar)

This characteristic ranges phonetically from an aspirated bilabial fricative to a velar fricative. It corresponds to the conventional spelling f in Central Mexico, Colombia, Puerto Rico, Chile, Guatemala, Paraguay, Costa Rica, and Extremadura; it corresponds to conventional h in Central Mexico as well as New Mexico, Guatemala, Costa Rica, Santo Domingo, Colombia, Ecuador, Chile, Argentina, Philippines, Andalusia, Extremadura, Leon, and Asturias (Boyd-Bowman 1960, p. 64).

The wide geographical distribution of this phenomenon of aspiration confounds any substratum theory as a possible explanation (Menendez Pidal, Origenes, 1926, p. 541). This apparently confused phenomenon has a straightforward explanation if we consider a tendency toward generalization (simplification) of rules in weakly monitored communities. Accordingly, there are two versions of the f>h aspiration in the history of Spanish:

first version	(XIV-XVI C.)	f>h before vowels
second version		f>h before vowels and glides

The first version is the Old Spanish aspiration of Latin initial f before vowels. The second is the modern version which gives us (h)uimos (f^uimos), a(h)uera (afuera). That it is the same rule (generalized to glides) is evidenced by the fact that we are still getting aspiration before vowels (through lexical diffusion) as in prohundo (profundo), husil (fusil), alhombra (alfombra) (cf. Marden in Henriquez Urena 1938, p. 122).

METATHESIS. The high glide of a diphthong exchanges places with the adjacent vowel or consonant as, for example, naide (nadie), meido (miedo). In Central Mexico (the place of origin of our informants) it is also common to find suida (ciudad). Metathesis of this type, especially in connection with naide is very widespread in the Spanish speaking world: Mexico, New Mexico, Chile, Argentina, Toledo, Santander, etc. (Boyd-Bowman 1960, p. 45).

PROTHESIS. In many words like afiquar (figurar), asiquro (seguro), etc. a prothetic [a] is found.

EPENTHESIS. An alveolar nasal [n] is often found, especially with asina, ansí, ansina (así), nadien (nadie), acuerdámen (acordarme). Although our text does not include other examples this is a well-known phenomenon in Jalisco and Guanajuato, where one finds dosn (dos), puesn (pues). Other parts of Romania exhibit evidence of nasal epenthesis: trompezar (tropezar) in Spain and America (Boyd-Bowman 1960, p. 85). The mountain village of Pescasseroli,

Central Italy, has šino (Standard Italian sí, 'yes').

DELETION, VELARIZATION. Intervocalic -d-, especially in past participles, is dropped, Colorao (colorado), Lareo (Laredo). Voiced bilabials are switched to labio-velars, qwenó (bueno), qwelta (vuelta). This is also not an unrecorded phenomenon. Southern Italian dialects velarize voiceless bilabial stops before front glides [kyínu] (pieno, 'full').

GENDER. We have found cases of gender switch, esperienzos (experiencias), la problema (el problema), las idiomas (los idiomas), which must be viewed, once again, not as aberrations but rather as part of the tendency to regularization which is natural in a weakly monitored language community. The other remarkable feature of second but especially third generation speakers is the abandonment of the rule of agreement in gender between a noun and its modifier: cuantos horas (cuantas horas), uno cantina (una cantina). Whether this can be attributed also to the principle of economy of code or to the fact that the contact language (English) makes no such distinction remains to be ascertained. The few cases noticed, however, are items which are or could be taken as quantifiers cuantos 'how many', uno 'a/one'. One might hypothesize that if the language is losing gender agreement, in a theory of gradual change quantifiers would be likely candidates to offer the least resistance, as opposed to qualifiers.

BORROWING, CODE SWITCHING. As one would expect in emigrant languages, there is much borrowing of lexical items (adapted and not adapted phonologically) quachando (watching), trocas (trucks), etc. Syntactic borrowings or "calques linguistiques" are also frequent, especially in the third generation: que lejos? (a que distancia queda 'how far'), buen tiempo (una buena temporada 'good time'). Switching into English in the middle of a Spanish conversation was also found in the second and third generations.

LEVELING. Leveling in the Chicano verb paradigm has received a certain attention of late as it offers a challenge to two theoretical alternatives:

- (a) morphologization of phonological rules
- (b) restructuring

Although we have found a limited amount of evidence of this phenomenon -- acuerdámen (acordarme), teníanos (teníamos) -- I shall discuss the issue at stake because the resolution of the dilemma involves the fundamental principle governing emigrant (weakly monitored) languages: a tendency toward regularization.

This phenomenon of paradigm leveling, recorded at the beginning of this century by Aurelio Espinosa in his monumental work on El Español de Nuevo Méjico, 1930 involves the elimination of the o-ue alternation in all first conjugation verbs with the result that ue appears in all forms regardless of stress. In the first person plural subjunctive, stress becomes 'columnar' and -mos → nos.

vuélo	vuelámos	vuéle	vuélenos
vuélas		vuéles	
vuéla	vuélan	vuéle	vuélen

Two hypotheses have been proposed to account for this phenomenon:

- (I) The Morphologization Hypothesis (Harris 1974)
 - (a) 1st conjugation verbs (o-stem) are diphthongized regardless of stress
 - (b) shift to columnar stress in present subjunctive
 - (c) $m \rightarrow n$ in the 1st person plural of the present subjunctive
- (II) The Restructuring Hypothesis (Saltarelli 1975)
 - (a) 1st person plural of subjunctive is restructured as /trabaje#nos/
 - (b) the 1st conjugation o-ue verbs are restructured as ue verbs

Harris' morphologization theory would require a more complex diphthongization rule, an ad hoc stress shift rule, and an unnatural $m \rightarrow n$ rule. The restructuring hypothesis would avoid all such complications and end up with a more regularized system. There is evidence, furthermore, that speakers do, in fact, identify the -nos in trabájenos as a pronoun (Boyd-Bowman 1960, p. 165).

Generational Differences

In (2) below, one can see that in general the language of the older generation (G-1, the original emigrants) has remained essentially the same as the language spoken in Central Mexico, with the inevitable exception of

some lexical borrowings. By contrast, the characteristics of the younger generation (G-3) include a number of features which show the influence of English. The middle generation maintains a bridge-like function between the young and the old. The tendency seems clear: Spanish is giving way to English.

(2) Generational Differences

G-1	G-2	G-3
Raising	Raising	
Aspiration-s	Aspiration-s	Aspiration-s
Aspiration-h,f	Aspiration-h,f	
Epenthesis	Epenthesis	
Leveling-diphth.	Leveling-diphth.	
	Gender-change	
	Gender-agreement	Gender-agreement
	Code switching	Code switching
	Borrowing-lexical	Borrowing-lexical
		Borrowing-syntactic

The general picture one gets from looking at the generations as a group is mitigated by factors which affect the members as individuals, such as extended formal education (including, in some cases, the study of Spanish). For maintenance in the second generation, an important factor seems to be whether or not Spanish was spoken exclusively in the home when the individual was growing up. This is not, however, the determining factor for the third generation: Lorrie's Spanish was learned in school and through travel in Mexico; her brother, James, who grew up in the same environment, has a very insecure knowledge of Spanish. Despite Lorrie's formal education in the language, her Spanish shows evidence of code switching, lexical borrowing, lack of gender agreement, and syntactic borrowing. The age of the individual does not seem to be as important a factor as the linguistic generation to which he belongs: Raymundo O., 19, shares many of the features of the first generation including raising and epenthesis, not found in the speech of the individuals who were his own age; Dolores V., 49, shares many of the features of the third generation

including borrowing, loss of gender agreement, and code-switching. It is interesting to note that both individuals do share something in common with other individuals in their age group which is not shared by other individuals in their linguistic generation: Raymundo's speech shows evidence of code switching not found elsewhere in G-1; Dolores' speech shows evidence of raising and aspiration-h,f not found elsewhere in G-3. Another factor affecting both second and third generation speakers is their use of Spanish outside the home, and the purposes for which they speak Spanish. Ray A., for example, shows many lexical borrowings in his Spanish, which seems consistent with his own statement that he speaks Spanish "only to be understood" and never had any formal education in the language.

Conclusions

The conclusions one might infer from this (to be sure, primitive) study of a simple text are the following. There are some types of change, like paradigm leveling, which affect the internal system of Spanish. This type of change seems to be in accordance with a principle of regularization which is to be expected when the language is acquired in a weakly monitored sociolinguistic situation like that of emigrant languages. It follows in such a context that a child learning Spanish in a Latino community in Chicago should generalize that the verb based on the noun juego 'play, game' should be juego 'I play', juegamos (jugamos) 'we play', jugar (jugar) 'to play', juegando (jugando) 'playing', etc. This follows from the child's natural capacity for language acquisition and hypothesis-building strategy. This situation of regularization should obtain in particular in the case of children of Chicanos whose language has been in the gradual process of leveling for the last fifty years, since their place of origin is itself one of a weakly monitored situation. One would expect, then, in general, a loss of minor rules and a tendency toward

maximal application of rules.

Other types of changes, like loss of gender-agreement which could, in principle, be spontaneous developments within Spanish as some sort of code simplification, may also be typical of a weakly monitored situation like that of emigrant languages. Unlike paradigm leveling, I would suspect that code simplification may at least be favored by the bilingual situation in which the other language lacks the linguistic property. Whether this claim of a tendency toward simplification in weakly monitored contexts is dependent on or independent of the contact language should be studied in a migrant community where the two languages in contact share the linguistic properties, for example Spanish, Italian, or Portuguese in France or French-speaking Switzerland.

Evidence of borrowings and code switching are, on the other hand, a clear prelude to a transition to English. Such a transition seems to go through the generational stages of G-1, Spanish dominant, G-2 bilingual (Spanish or English dominant), G-3, English dominant. The changes occurring from G-1 to G-2 to G-3 cannot be construed merely as evidence for a faster rate of change in emigrant languages. Rather, what appears to be a fast rate of change in emigrant languages is just the prelude to their death.

GLOSSARY

<u>Chicano</u>	<u>Standard</u>	<u>English</u>
intonces	entonces	therefore
criaban	creaban	they raised
dicia	decía	he said
pigarlas	pegarlas	to hit them (fem.)
campión	campeón	champion
lión	león	lion
e[h]ta	esta	this (adj. fem.)
e[h]tá	esta	he is (locative)
[h]uimos	fuimos	we went
a[h]uera	afuera	outside
[h]allar	halar	to make noise
[h]ayar	hallar	to find
pro[h]undo	profundo	profound
[h]usil	fusil	rifle
al[h]ombra	alfombra	carpet
naide, nadien	nadie	nothing
meido	miedo	fear
suidá	ciudad	city
afigurar	figurar	to imagine
asiguro	seguro	certainly
asina, ansi, ansina	así	thus
acuerdámen	acordarme	I remember (infinit.)
dosn	dos	two
puesn	pues	then
Colorao	Colorado	Colorado
Lareo	Laredo	Laredo
esperienzos	experiencias	experiences
problema (f.)	problema (m.)	problem
idioma (f.)	idioma (m.)	language
ten'anos	teníamos	we had
vuelar	volar	to fly
trabajenos	trabajemos	to work (1st plural pres. subj.)
[h]uir	huir	to escape

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